

Supplemental Appendix:
Labor Unions and Support for Redistribution
in an Era of Inequality

This appendix includes OLS regression models for public/private sector and south/non-south differences (Tables 7 and 8 in the main paper). It also includes regression models using alternative measures of inequality: 1) A Gini coefficient based on IRS tax return data, and 2) A Gini coefficient that is post-transfer, based on U.S. Census Bureau data. These two models are associated with Footnote 15 in the main paper.

Regression Models for Private and Public Sector Union Membership (1984-2012)

Below, I display the full OLS regression models that are displayed in the main paper in Table 7. The dependent variable is pro-welfare spending, ranging from 1984-2012. All independent variables precede the dependent variable by one year, i.e., union membership is measured from 1983-2011.

Table 1: Private and Public Sector Union Membership, Inequality, and Support for Welfare Spending (1984-2012)

	(1) Private Sector	(2) Public Sector
Top one percent income share	-0.156* (0.087)	-0.201** (0.083)
Private sector union membership %	-0.413*** (0.143)	
Top one percent × Private sector union %	0.035*** (0.010)	
Public sector union membership %		-0.140*** (0.039)
Top one percent × Public sector union %		0.008*** (0.002)
Partisanship	0.018** (0.007)	0.016** (0.006)
Ideology	-0.008 (0.009)	-0.007 (0.008)
Non-white population	0.066 (0.054)	0.048 (0.054)
Per capita income	0.061 (0.062)	0.005 (0.056)
Unemployment	0.016 (0.080)	-0.088 (0.088)
Economic policy liberalism	-0.040 (0.366)	-0.357 (0.364)
Constant	24.217*** (2.333)	28.075*** (2.791)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,424	1,424
R-squared	0.735	0.737

DV is the percentage saying we are spending “too little” on welfare

All independent variables measured at t-1

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Regression Models for Southern and Non-Southern States (1978-2012)

Below, I display the full OLS regression models that are displayed in the main paper in Table 8. The dependent variable is pro-welfare spending, ranging from 1978-2012. All independent variables precede the dependent variable by one year, i.e., union membership is measured from 1977-2011.

Southern states are: Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

Table 2: Unionization, Inequality, and Support for Welfare Spending by Region (1978-2012)

	(1) South	(2) Non-South
Top one percent income share	-0.685*** (0.176)	-0.064 (0.093)
Union membership %	-0.675*** (0.181)	-0.110** (0.050)
Top one percent \times Union membership %	0.063*** (0.015)	0.009** (0.004)
Partisanship	0.023 (0.019)	0.027*** (0.008)
Ideology	0.019 (0.020)	-0.002 (0.005)
Non-white population	0.123*** (0.032)	0.023** (0.009)
Per capita income	0.055 (0.042)	0.052 (0.039)
Unemployment rate	0.238* (0.127)	0.055 (0.100)
Economic policy liberalism	-0.629** (0.275)	0.368* (0.196)
Constant	19.484*** (3.274)	11.756*** (1.487)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects?	No	No
Observations	560	1,152
R-squared	0.698	0.767

DV is the percentage saying we are spending “too little” on welfare

All independent variables measured at t-1

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Regression Models using the Frank Gini Coefficient (1978-2012)

This regression model is associated with Footnote 15 in the main paper. It use a measure of pre-transfer income inequality based on IRS tax data (the same data source as the top one percent income share), but is operationalized as a Gini coefficient, rather than a specific measure of the income share of the top one percent in a particular state-year.

Table 3: Union Membership, Inequality, and Support for Welfare Spending (1978-2012)

Gini coefficient	-0.065 (0.076)
Union membership %	-0.633*** (0.176)
Gini × Union membership %	0.012*** (0.004)
Partisanship	0.021*** (0.006)
Ideology	-0.007 (0.006)
Non-white population	0.075*** (0.025)
Per capita income	0.136*** (0.050)
Unemployment	-0.015 (0.070)
Economic policy liberalism	-0.266 (0.336)
Constant	17.070*** (4.251)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes
State Fixed Effects?	Yes
Observations	1,712
R-squared	0.765

DV is the percentage saying we are spending “too little” on welfare

All independent variables measured at t-1

OLS coefficients

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Regression Models using a post-transfer Gini coefficient, data from Bucci (2018), (1978-2012)

This regression model is associated with Footnote 15 in the main paper. This measure of inequality is based on U.S. Census Bureau data. It was originally calculated by Franko, Kelly, and Witko (2016) from 1976-2006 and was updated through 2014 by Bucci (2018). This measure of inequality is post-transfer, meaning it take government redistributive spending/taxation into account and then assesses inequality based on a Gini coefficient.

Table 4: Union Membership, Inequality, and Support for Welfare Spending (1978-2012)

Post-transfer Gini	-16.735*
	(9.661)
Union membership %	-0.827***
	(0.218)
Gini × Union membership %	1.957***
	(0.551)
Partisanship	0.020***
	(0.006)
Ideology	-0.005
	(0.006)
Non-white population	0.075***
	(0.025)
Per capita income	0.118**
	(0.052)
Unemployment	-0.069
	(0.074)
Economic policy liberalism	-0.058
	(0.322)
Constant	21.155***
	(4.568)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes
State Fixed Effects?	Yes
Observations	1,712
R-squared	0.765

DV is the percentage saying we are spending “too little” on welfare

All independent variables measured at t-1

OLS coefficients

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed